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Quarterly Management Report  
World Political Data and Analysis Program

Bruce M. Russett  
H. Bradford Westerfield  
John D. Sullivan  
Jeffrey S. Milstein

Yale University

Prepared in connection with Advanced Research Projects Agency,  
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Order Number: 1067 Contract Number: N0014-67-A  
Project Code Number: NR 177-916 0097-0007  
Name of Contractor: Yale University  
Date of Contract: 1 September 1967 Bruce M. Russett  
(Signed August 1971) H. Bradford Westerfield  
Amount of Contract: \$197,800.00 Jeffrey S. Milstein  
Contract Expiration Date: John D. Sullivan  
August 13, 1972  
Title: A World Political Data  
and Analysis Program

The Director  
Advanced Research Projects Agency  
Department of Defense  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir:

As is required by our contract, I have the honor to submit to you the Quarterly Management Report covering work performed for April 1, 1971 - June 20, 1971.

#### EMPIRICAL THEORIES ABOUT INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

##### Technical Problems and Accomplishments

A. During the past quarter Mr. Russett published two articles reporting his research under our contract. "An Empirical Typology of International Military Alliances" appeared in Midwest Journal of Political Science, 15, 2 (May 1971). All military alliances concluded during the period 1920-1957 were examined according to a variety of background and output variables. The findings from a factor analysis included: The duration of alliances is generally unrelated to the degree to which they are dominated by a single power; similarly, if a war does occur, members' likelihood of fighting together on the same side cannot be predicted either from duration or from dominance, nor from the strength of the formal commitment engaged in. Multilateral alliances among equals are most likely to find the members fighting on the same side. On the other hand, dominated alliances seem to provide deterrence most effectively. The characteristics of pre-World War II alliances are not greatly different from those formed since the war.

"Transactions, Community, and International Political Integration" appeared in Journal of Common Market Studies, 9, 3 (March 1971). It tries to clear up some of the conceptual and theoretical confusion among students of

international integration as to how political integration can be measured, and the role of trade and other economic transactions in promoting political integration. It reviews the major theories, distinguishing among such measures of integration as institutionalization, war-avoidance, and responsiveness. The conditions whereby transactions may further each kind of integration are discussed, as are existing measurement attempts and other empirical research. Remaining difficulties are also identified.

Russett continues his work on international relations theory. He is preparing, for a special conference in Chicago next December, a paper on nuclear strategy, counter-force targeting, and moral restraints. He will chair a panel on international military alliances at the American Political Science Association meeting in Chicago this September, and a panel on political, especially international, violence at the meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science in December.

B. Mr. Milstein has continued his research on both the Vietnam War and the Arab-Israeli conflict. Of special interest regarding the Vietnam War is the empirical finding that Vietnamization is failing to provide that protection for the people of South Vietnam necessary to secure for the GVN the popular confidence and support it needs in order to survive. From February 1969 through February 1971, as Vietnamization has increased (as indicated by decreased U.S. combat operations and higher ratios of South Vietnamese to American combat deaths), the number of Viet Cong terrorist incidents has risen greatly -- an increase of 41 percent from the first to the second year of Vietnamization. Conventional Communist armed attacks during this same period decreased 14 percent. Thus the Communist response to Vietnamization has apparently been to shift from conventional to guerrilla warfare -- possibly to reciprocate American troop withdrawals, but also possibly to conserve their military strength for a major offensive after most U.S. troops have been withdrawn.

The increased terrorism, the decline in total allied military strength in South Vietnam, and the probably fear of future Communist attacks have led to a loss of confidence in the South Vietnamese government. The month-by-month decline in the black market value of the South Vietnamese piastre correlates highly with reductions in U.S. troops and combat operations, increasing ratios of South Vietnamese to U.S. combat deaths, and increases in Viet Cong terrorism. In exchanging their piastres for dollars, South Vietnamese in a position to do so apparently are not putting their money on the GVN's chances to survive a protracted war.

C. During this period Sullivan continued his work on alliances and alignments. Building on his earlier work on informal alignments, he explored different ways of measuring informal alignments and alternative models for explaining observed patterns of alignments. This work will be reported in a forthcoming paper. In addition, he worked out plans for developing further the computer simulation of international conflict and cooperation he is developing with Janice Fain of C.A.C.I. At present, the model contains only relations among the national entities in the simulation, that is alliance and trade relationships, as well as the past history of relations between the two countries. The model will be modified to incorporate into it attributes of the national entities. In particular, the power base of each nation as well as its level of economic and political development will be incorporated into the model.

In addition to the above, Sullivan revised a paper he is writing with Nazli Choucri of M.I.T. on conceptual problems in the areas of alignments and alliances. This paper sets forth a conceptual framework of cooperation and non-cooperation and shows that it is possible to construct a single dimension ranging from a formal alliance relationship to a policy stance involving complete isolation. The paper attempts to demonstrate that there is a continuum from a very binding, formal relationship through informal alignments and non-alignment to complete isolationism as a policy. The paper also discusses some of the research implications of the conceptual clarification of political cooperation-non-cooperation from other forms of cooperation such as trade.

Sullivan continues with his work on formal and informal alignments using both empirical data as well as the computer simulation. He intends to explore further the measurement problems associated with his concept of alignment. In addition he will develop further the simulation model of cooperation and conflict.

D. The project also provided some support for a dissertation written by Harvey Starr which analyzed the distribution of payoffs at the conclusion of war. Starr explored the validity of a number of models and concluded that the factor which best explained the distribution of spoils among the victors in a war was participation in that war. This project also generated an extensive set of quantified historical data on a set of wars which occurred between 1815 and 1967.

DoD Implications

The research aims of these investigators are to devise and test quantitative techniques which can be employed to assess the problem forms of conflict and cooperation between nations, thereby assisting the Department of Defense in its long-range logistical and strategic planning.

Fiscal status

Amount currently funded	\$38,483.64
Estimated expenditure to date	<u>5,800.39</u>
Remaining funds	32,683.25

Action required of the government: none

Future Plans: No change to report at this time

## AUSTRALIAN LINKS WITH BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES

### Technical Problem

Mr. Westerfield's project seeks to analyze the domestic and international influences that have shaped key governmental decisions in Australia since 1937 in such a way as to alter its links with Britain and to strengthen its links with the United States. Westerfield's concern is with the major recurrent international integrative and disintegrative forces that are exemplified in this particular instance of shifting alignments, including the changes that occur in the foreign policy decision making process itself under such circumstances.

### General Methodology

Westerfield is studying the evolution of mass opinion through available Australian survey materials, and of elite opinion identifiable through content analysis of representative Australian periodicals and parliamentary debates; he also intends to study the impact of electoral politics (including geographic and demographic factors). The effects of the power structure of the political parties inside and outside parliament also command his attention. The various elements of the study will converge to a focus that aims to shed additional light on the executive decision making process, for some key episodes at least, by means of interviews in Australia; but for diplomatic reasons the fieldwork will not be under DoD auspices.

### Accomplishments - Technical Results

Data have been gathered from a detailed examination of all the Australian parliamentary debates bearing on foreign affairs in several pivotal years of the 1950's and 1960's. The idea has been to identify the foreign affairs activists in the legislature, as individuals and as members of visible interest groups, cause groups, religious and ethnic groups, and party factions. These data have been analyzed to develop a model of some of these alignments, showing for each party what are the basic, recurrent cross-cutting policy orientations that unite or divide its prominent members, as particular issues arise to engage those pre-dispositions.

In order to clarify the interrelationship between intellectual and journalistic elite statements and those of the legislators, year by year, a content analysis has been made of Australian journals of opinion and of Australia's most significant newspaper, The Melbourne Age. In the past quarter, progress was made on extending the comparisons to include mass opinion tapped through survey research. Computer runs have begun for analysis of the responses to

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all the Australian Gallup poll questions since 1953 pertaining to foreign affairs and defense that seem at all promising for this purpose. They are being examined through regression and factor analysis techniques to determine the relative influence of various sociological and political variables and the patterns of opinion change over time. This summer's objective will be to explore the extent to which legislators' statements coincide with these mass currents and with the intellectual and journalistic elite statements, and to what extent they lead or lag behind such objective conditions as changes in patterns of foreign trade and investments and allies' force deployments in the region.

#### DoD Implications

The research indicates an encompassing pattern in the country's foreign policy making -- a pattern that emphasizes a ubiquitous feeling in Australia of powerlessness and dependency in international affairs; this attitude seems to be shared both by those who are generally complacent about it and also by the others who indulge half-heartedly in various gestures against it.

#### Implications for Further Research

The above suggests that this study as a whole may be a basis for comparative study of other "unequal alliances."

Problems encountered: none.

#### Fiscal status:

Amount currently funded	\$58,700.00
Estimated expenditures to date	43,979.52
Remaining funds	<u>14,720.48</u>

Action required of the government: none.

Future plans: no change to report at this time.